1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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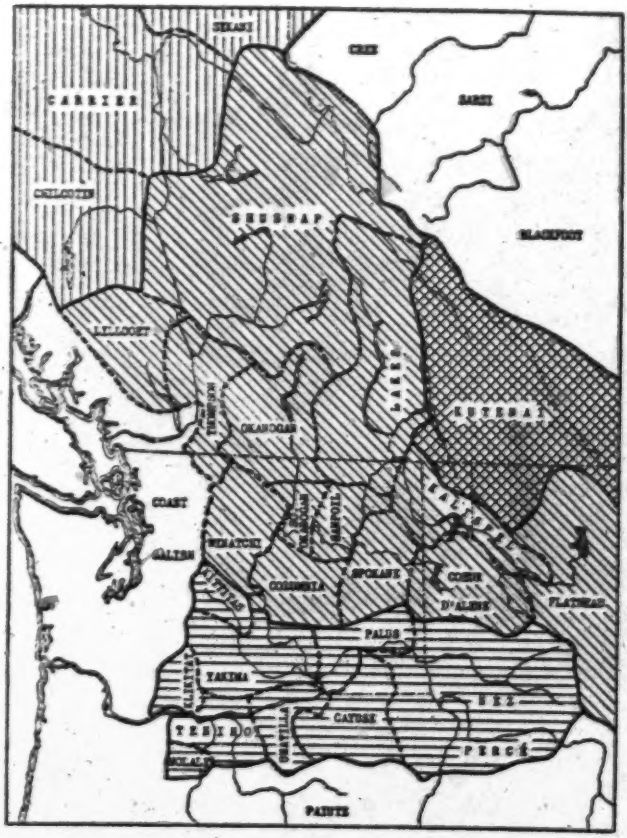

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

dian zone is marked by the presence of the Engelmann spruce *(Picea engelmanni)* and the western larch *(Larix occidentalis)*. In the Hudsonian, highest of timbered plant zones, may be seen the white bark pine *(Pinus albicaulis)* and the subalpine fir *(Abies lasiocarpa)*."

III.

The linguistic stocks represented among the Columbia Basin groups here considered are Salish and Sahaptin. The term Interior Salish is applied to the division of the former lying east of the Cascade mountains. Roughly the northern half of the Basin is occupied by Salish-speaking peoples while the southern half is Sahaptin in speech. Specifically the Salish include the Lakes, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Chewelah, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia. The Sahaptin are represented by the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Palus and the adjacent Nez Perce. It was formerly thought that Cayuse, together with Molale in and west of the Oregon Cascades, represented a distinct linguistic stock, the so-called Waiilatpuan. Dr. Melville Jacobs recently has shown this to be merely a widely divergent dialect of Sahaptin.[12]

Interior Salish has been studied systematically only by Dr. Gladys Reichard, whose work is not yet available, but native classifications serve to indicate the major subgroups. Dialects within each of these subgroups are mutually intelligible but are unintelligible to other groups. Comprising one group are the Lakes, Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem and Southern Okanogan; another, the Columbia, Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi; a third, the Chewelah, Kalispel, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; and a fourth, the Coeur d'Alene.

[11]Charles V. Piper, "Flora of the State of Washington," in *Contributions from the U.S. Herbarium* (Washington, 1906), XI, 33-72.

[12]Melville Jacobs, "A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1931), IV, 93-96.

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The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

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Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

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we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

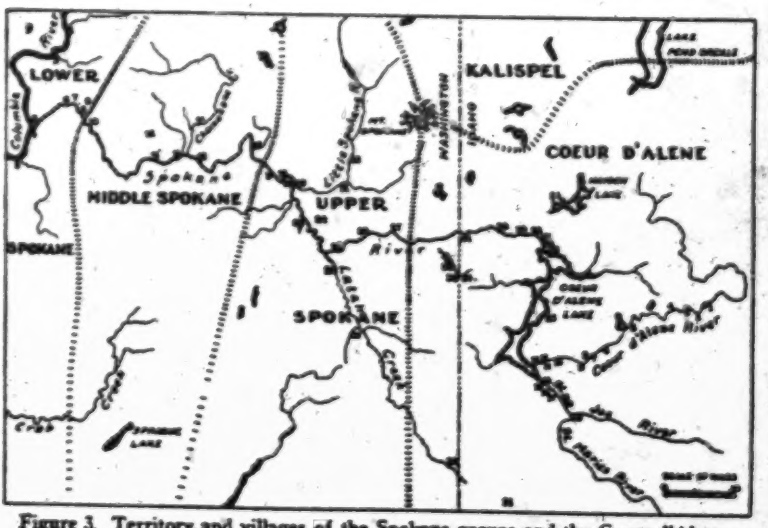

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

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canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqalispi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate 'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smaka'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqasi'lni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39]Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40]Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41]Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

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101 131 THE INLAND FAMILIES, constituting the fifth and last division of the Columbians, inhabit the region between the Cascade Range and the eastern limit of what I term the Pacific States, from 52° 30′ to 45° of north latitude. These bounds are tolerably distinct; though that on the south, separating the eastern portions of the Columbian and Californian groups, is irregular and marked by no great river, mountain chain, or other prominent physical feature. These inland natives of the Northwest occupy, in person, character, and customs, as well as in the location of their home, an intermediate position between the coast people already described — to whom they are pronounced superior in most respects — and the Rocky Mountain or eastern tribes. Travelers crossing the Rocky Mountains into this territory from the east, or entering it from the Pacific by way of the Columbia or Fraser, note contrasts on passing the limits, sufficient to justify me in regarding its inhabitants as one people for the purposes aimed at in this volume.[140] Instead, there-

000 *Trav.*, pp. 416, 441–2, 504, 523–4. 'Thorough-bred hypocrites and liars.' 'The Killymucks the most roguish.' Industry, patience, sobriety and ingenuity are their chief virtues; thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling and cruelty may be classed among their vices. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 115, 131, 296–7, 302, 304–5, 321, vol. ii., p. 133. At Wishiam 'they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 322, 342. 'Lying is very common; thieving comparatively rare.' *White's Ogn.*, p. 207. 'Do not appear to possess a particle of natural good feeling.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 183. At Coos Bay 'by no means the fierce and warlike race found further to the northward.' *Wells*, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 601. Umqua and Coose tribes are naturally industrious; the Suislaws the most advanced; the Alcea not so enterprising. *Sykes*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1860, p. 215. Calapooias, a poor, cowardly, and thievish race. *Miller*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 364; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 87, vol. ii., pp. 16, 36; *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 84, 105; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 249–50; *Ind. Life*, pp. 1–4, 210; *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 196; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 207, etc.

101 131 181 197 [140] 'They all resemble each other in general characteristics.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 229. Shushwaps and Salish all one race. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296–7. 'The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally, vastly superior to the tribes of the coast.' *Id.*, p. 242. 'The Kliketat near Mount Rainier, the Walla-Wallas, and the Okanagan ....speak kindred dialects.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170. The best-supported opinion is that the inland were of the same original stock with the lower tribes. *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 316. 'On leaving the verge of the Carrier country, near Alexandria, a marked change is at once perceptible.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Inland tribes differ widely from the piscatorial tribes. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. 'Those residing near the Rocky Mountains....are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654. 'I was particularly struck with their

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fore, of treating each family separately, as has been done with the coast divisions of the group, I deem it more convenient, as well as less monotonous to the reader, to avoid repetition by describing the manners and customs of all the people within these limits together, taking care to note such variations as may be found to exist. The division into families and nations, made according to principles already sufficiently explained, is as follows, beginning again at the north:

THE SHUSHWAPS, our first family division, live between 52° 30′ and 49° in the interior of British Columbia, occupying the valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Upper Columbia rivers with their tributary streams and lakes. They are bounded on the west by the Nootkas and on the north by the Carriers, from both of which families they seem to be distinct. As national divisions of this family may be mentioned the Shushwaps proper, or *Atnahs*,[141] who occupy the whole northern portion of the territory; the *Okanagans*,[142] in the valley of the lake and river of the same name; and the *Kootenais*,[143] who

vast superiority (on the Similkameen River, Lat. 49° 30′, Long. 120° 30′) in point of intelligence and energy to the Fish Indians on the Fraser River, and in its neighbourhood.' *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Striking contrast noted in passing up the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199.

[141] 'The Shewhapmuch....who compose a large branch of the Saeliss family,' known as *Nicute-much*—corrupted by the Canadians into Couteaux—below the junction of the Fraser and Thompson. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76–7. Atnahs is their name in the Takali language, and signifies 'strangers.' 'Differ so little from their southern neighbors, the Salish, as to render a particular description unnecessary.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. They were called by Mackenzie the Chin tribe, according to *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427, but Mackenzie's Chin tribe was north of the Atnahs, being the Nagailer tribe of the Carriers. See *Mackenzie's Voy.*, pp. 257–8, and map.

[142] 'About Okanagan, various branches of the Carrier tribe.' *Nicolay's Orn. Ter.*, p. 143. 'Okanagans, on the upper part of Frazer's River.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170.

[143] Also known as Flat-bows. 'The poorest of the tribes composing the Flathead nation.' *McCormick*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 211. 'Speaking a language of their own, it is not easy to imagine their origin; but it appears probable that they once belonged to some more southern tribe, from which they became shut off by the intervention of larger tribes.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. 'In appearance, character, and customs, they resemble more the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains than those of Lower Oregon.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'Les Arcs-à-Plats, et les Koetenais sont connus dans le pays sous le nom de Skalzi.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Oré-gon*, p. 80.

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inhabit the triangle bounded by the Upper Columbia, the Rocky Mountains, and the 49th parallel, living chiefly on Flatbow river and lake. All three nations might probably be joined with quite as much reason to the Salish family farther south, as indeed has usually been done with the Okanagans; while the Kootenais are by some considered distinct from any of their adjoining nations.

THE SALISH FAMILY dwells south of the Shushwaps, between 49° and 47°, altogether on the Columbia and its tributaries. Its nations, more clearly defined than in most other families, are the *Flatheads*,[144] or Salish proper, between the Bitter Root and Rocky Mountains on Flathead and Clarke rivers; the *Pend d'Oreilles*,[145] who dwell about the lake of the same name and on Clarke River, for fifty to seventy-five miles above and below the lake; the *Coeurs d'Alène*,[146] south of the Pend d'Oreilles, on Coeur d'Alêne Lake and the streams falling into it; the *Colvilles*,[147] a term which may be used to designate the variously named bands about Kettle Falls, and northward along the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes; the *Spokanes*,[148] on the Spokane River and plateau along the Columbia below Kettle Falls, nearly to the mouth of the

[144] The origin of the name Flathead, as applied to this nation, is not known, as they have never been known to flatten the head. 'The mass of the nation consists of persons who have more or less of the blood of the Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perces, and Iroquois.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207; *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 150; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. Gass applied the name apparently to tribes on the Clearwater of the Sahaptin family. *Jour.*, p. 224.

[145] Also called *Kalispelms* and *Ponderas*. The Upper Pend d'Oreilles consist of a number of wandering families of Spokanes, Kalispelms proper, and Flatheads. *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 294; *Stevens*, in *Ib.*, p. 149; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 210. 'Very similar in manners, etc., to the Flatheads, and form one people with them.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 32.

[146] The native name, according to Hale, is *Skitswish*, and Coeur d'Alène, 'Awl heart,' is a nickname applied from the circumstance that a chief used these words to express his idea of the Canadian traders' meanness. *Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210.

[147] *Quiarlpi*, 'Basket People,' *Chaudieres*, 'Kettles,' *Kettle Falls*, *Chualpays*, *Skoielpoi*, and *Lakes*, are some of the names applied to these bands.

[148] 'Ils s'appellent entre eux les Enfants du Soleil, dans leur langue Spokane.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'Differing very little from the Indians at Colville, either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 307.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[304] [197] [177] [361]

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes,"' in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoigu-rik-kah, Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54.

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wălă-Wălă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 213.

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pahawanwappam lands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac*